177
301 the favorite ornament of both sexes, of adults as well as children (cf. Photos. 3, 4, 5, 8, and many others).

The Tapirapé showed the same love for those beads as did the
301 Karajá, wanting always the smallest and whitest ones (cf. Photo.
[171] 2) and showing intense dislike for those of other colors and those made of clear [105:90] glass. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, the beads I saw were used merely as necklaces. It is true that these Indians are also very fond of deck-
[855] ing out their children in these ornaments, and the larger the number of beads at the neck of a girl, the more beautiful she seems in everyone's eyes. People often borrow beads from each other to enhance this sort of beauty, and not only do married couples use their beads in turn, but this is also done between parents and children and between friends belonging to different families.

Beads were the object of the only theft between two Tapirapé
•[674] committed during my stay at Tampiitáua. When Maeyma was deserted by his wife and hung his hammock next to that of Taipá, a matronly widow, she appeared on the following morning with beads around her neck. [Ed., the last sentence, which concludes the section in Vol. 105, is omitted; there is no section in Vol. 106.]

[107:107] Tapirapé of both sexes usually wear their hair cut
302 straight across the forehead just above the eyes, so that it cannot fall across the face (Photos. 3 and 28). They do allow it to grow on the sides and in the back, however. Some of the men, women, and children sometimes part their hair anywhere on the forehead, thus partly baring it (Photos. 59, 61, and 63). The hair reaches shoulder length in the back, and this occurs more frequently among the women than among the men (Photos. 4, 67, and 69). The latter sometimes hold it with a strip of inner bark tied around the head (Photos. 4 and 5) or gather it into a pigtail (Photos. 1, 4, and 7), while the women and children always wear it loose. The hair
171 of some boys seems to have been cut at several lengths (Photos. 2
302 and 8), as described by Krause (2, 209 and Fig. 37) for Karajá boys. It may be said that, as a rule, there are many similarities between Tapirapé and Karajá hair styles. In both tribes also, the hair of boys
[852] is cut all over to half a centimeter when they are about ten years old, except for a narrow strip of hair three centimeters long that surrounds the head like a crown (cf. Krause, ibid. and Plate 43, Fig. 2).

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirape SP22

Fear was present in the formalization of quarrels full of hatred, a formalization which obliged the opponents to avoid direct contact. They had to remain hidden from one another and not interrupt the speech of their antagonist, but only reply when he had finished. One such quarrel began in the afternoon of June 27, 1935. Kamairahó lay in his hammock with open eyes and didn't answer when several people called him. Maninohó, the eldest man of the neighbouring house, begins to pronounce insults. He stays inside his house. The entrances of the houses are so arranged that it is impossible to look from the interior of one house into the interior of another.[4] Kamairahó's wife stays outside between the two houses without looking towards either of them. She faces the men's house in the centre of the village and replies to Maninohó with extraordinary gravity, in a level voice and with calm gestures. They are discussing a question of shamanism. Maninohó seems to be doing the provoking. The other persons present continue with their habitual activities, neither laughing nor speaking. After a while Maninohó's aggressiveness seems to increase. Kamairahó's wife joins her husband and the eldest man of her house places himself close to the entrance but inside, holding a club and railing violently in a loud and monotonous voice. When he finishes, profound silence rules for some moments. Then the other replies in the same tone. Never does one interrupt the other. This rule is also observed when two Tapirapé women have a quarrel as well as among other South American tribes.[5] The quarrel between the two men, one always hidden from the other, lasted until sunset. Late that night the old man of Kamairahó's house, where I was also living, asked me for my electric torch and went with his wife for water by a very roundabout way in order to avoid the proximity of Maninohó's house. These precautionary measures — the lamp, the company of his wife, and the détour — reveal clearly the fear he had of the adversary. Supposing then that fear has contributed to create the institution of formalized quarrels we may consider it a factor of socialization. But is it only a tribal behaviour pattern or also fear that causes the victim of theft to abstain from any exteriorized reaction? Frequently I observed that the theft of some thing obtained from the white men, for instance a necklace of glass beads, was known immediately in the whole village; the victim, however, suffers in silence without any demonstration and doesn't attempt any revenge.

As an institution which is essentially a product of fear appears that of the shamans. Nonexistent in certain South American tribes and little developed in others, it is so important to the Tapirapé that they informed me of certain local groups having renounced their independence and joined the inhabitants of another village because there were no more shamans among them.[6] This becomes credible when one considers Charles Wagley's[7] quotation of one of his informants' words: "Without our pancé, all we Tapirapé die." According to the same author,[8] "the greatest prestige which Tapirapé culture offers accrues to the shaman." This means that the first place in Tapirapé society belongs to the person who defends the community against the ever terrible dangers of the supernatural world. It is collective fear which gives him this status. But the easy and continuous contact with the forces of destruction makes the shaman for his part also a man to be feared, and consequently exposes him to other dangers, to dangers which we would not call supernatural. When cases of death occur in the village, and especially several in a short time, it is usual to attribute the cause to a shaman and therefore many shamans are murdered. Then it is also collective fear which, in such cases, moves a Tapirapé to defend the community